UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3273
10 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 10 September 1993, at 4.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

93-86495 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.45 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of September, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Council, to Her Excellency Ambassador Madeleine Korbel Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, for her service as President of the Security Council for the month of August 1993. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Albright for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which she conducted the Council's business last month. I would request the representative of the United States kindly to convey this tribute to Ambassador Albright.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION CONCERNING RWANDA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the peace agreement concluded by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front at Arusha on 4 August 1993. The Council is aware of the hopes the Rwandese parties entertain that the international community will lend its assistance to the implementation of the agreement. It has also taken note of the importance they attach to 10 September 1993, the date that is to mark the establishment of transitional institutions.

(The President)

"The Security Council welcomes the decision by the Secretary-General to send a reconnaissance mission to Rwanda. The Council hopes to have the report of the Secretary-General based on the recommendations of the reconnaissance mission in the next few days so that it can consider the contribution the United Nations could make to facilitate the implementation of the Arusha peace agreements.

"The Security Council urges the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front to continue to honour the Arusha agreements in accordance with their commitments. It further urges them to continue to cooperate with the Neutral Military Observer Group, whose mandate the Secretary-General of OAU has decided to extend on an interim basis."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/26425.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3274
13 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 13 September 1993, at 3.45 p.m.

President:	Mr. TAYLHARDAT	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER

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93-86503 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN MOZAMBIQUE (S/26385 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Afonso (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, documents S/26385 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26426, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

I should like to draw attention to the following revision to be made to the draft resolution contained in document S/26426, in its provisional form: at the end of operative paragraph 7, the words "and information" should be deleted.

(The President)

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 8 September 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, which will be issued as document S/26432.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): First of all, I wish to congratulate you warmly as a distinguished diplomat and as the representative of Venezuela on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. Your unique diplomatic experience and skills are guarantees that the conduct of the work of the Council will be in good hands. I should also like to convey a well-deserved word of recognition to Ambassador Madeline Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States, for the intelligence and enthusiasm with which she guided the work of the Council last month.

Close and solid ties link Brazil to the Portuguese-speaking community of nations. It is thus with great attention that the Brazilian Government has been following the evolution of the situation in Mozambique and the commendable work of the United Nations in that country, to which we are connected by history, culture and the common quest for economic development and social progress.

The latest report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) confirms that important positive developments have recently enhanced the advancement of the peace process. Those developments, which include a fruitful series of meetings in Maputo between the President of the Republic of Mozambique and the leader of RENAMO, allow for a certain sense of optimism.

The Final Document of the meeting between President Joaquim Alberto Chissano and Mr. Afonso Macacho Dhlakama spells out measures related to the territorial administration of the country and the

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

running of police activities that, once put into practice, should help in the smooth implementation of the General Peace Agreement. Some progress has also been achieved on the humanitarian front, despite financial shortcomings that we expect can be overcome soon. The successful implementation of the comprehensive humanitarian programme remains an essential aspect of the United Nations efforts in Mozambique.

This encouraging picture, however, must under no circumstance overshadow the need for the Security Council to keep a watchful eye as the peace process unfolds. The revised timetable for the implementation of all provisions of the General Peace Agreement must be applied in a timely fashion, as stated in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution now before the Council.

We expect that current problems, such as the question of the composition of the National Electoral Commission, the adoption of the electoral law and the delay in the initiation of the cantonment and demobilization process, will be solved in the light of the newly improved political climate. The holding of democratic elections by October 1994 must be kept as a fundamental objective.

The steadfastness and commitment to the peace process displayed by the Mozambican Government, under the leadership of President Chissano, are to be commended. As rightly stated in the draft resolution before us, it is essential that RENAMO and other political parties join with the Government in ensuring the full and undelayed implementation in good faith of the General Peace Agreement.

Only a lasting peace will make it possible for the Mozambican people to regain the path to development and to embark upon the challenging task of national reconciliation and reconstruction. For its part, the international community must stand ready to do its share and contribute to the successful outcome of the peace process and to the reconstruction efforts that will follow.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that with your rich diplomatic experience and talents you will successfully guide the work of the Council for this month. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Albright of the United States, for her outstanding contribution to the successful conclusion of the work of the Council last month.

The General Peace Agreement of Mozambique has brought hope for an end to the civil war which has lasted for more than 10 years, and has opened up new vistas for the restoration of peace and economic revitalization there. The Chinese delegation is glad to note that, through the efforts of the United Nations and the two Mozambican parties, initial progress has been made in the peace process in Mozambique and that agreements on state administration and the impartiality of the national police force were reached in the wake of the direct talks between President Joaquim Chissano and President Afonso Dhlakama of the RENAMO. This gives powerful impetus to the peace process in Mozambique. However, owing to various reasons the implementation of the peace agreement is still faced with many difficulties, and the two sides have yet to reach agreement on questions such as that of the future National Electoral Commission. We wish to express our deep concern about this.

The peace process in Mozambique is now at a crucial stage. In order to ensure that the general elections are held on schedule in October 1994, the two Mozambican sides must adopt practical measures, fulfil their commitments, cooperate with the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and act strictly in accordance with the new timetable. The current priority is for the two sides to complete the assembly and demobilization of their troops as early as possible and form a new national defence force so as to create conditions for the early realization of national reconciliation. The draft resolution before us exactly reflects this desire of the members of the Council. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of it.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

The Council will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/26426, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 863 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I would like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council and by thanking your predecessor, Ambassador Albright, for her splendid work in the previous month.

I would like to make a few remarks about the resolution we have just adopted. Firstly, my Government welcomes the positive developments, and welcomes in particular the useful outcome of the talks that have been held between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama. We would, however, like to underscore how important we feel it is for these two leaders to continue to meet frequently during the process of implementation of the peace agreements, because we believe that is the best way to ensure a continuing momentum in applying the agreements.

Secondly, I would not wish to conceal that we are concerned at continuing slippage in the timetable that was laid down when the two parties first came to the negotiating table and reached agreement. I think it is important that the parties to this Agreement in Mozambique should be aware that the resources of the international community are finite and are under great strain at the moment. There are many calls on these resources from many parts of the world, so if

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

international commitment is to be sustained in the Mozambique peace process - and my Government is very strongly devoted to sustaining that international commitment - it really is essential for progress to be continuous, visible and sustained. Otherwise, it will not be easy to maintain that support, and we would wish to do so.

As we see it, the priorities that lie immediately ahead are: Firstly, the assembly and demobilization of troops, which is absolutely crucial if the timetable for holding the elections is to be retained and met. Secondly, the arrival of the remainder of the RENAMO trainees for the joint U.K./Zimbabwe military training at Nyanga. This is equally important because it is the basis of the future National Army of Mozambique. And, thirdly, progress in the multi-party consultative conference on the electoral law, in order to prepare for elections by October 1994, is now urgent. The process of agreeing on those preparations for elections has become temporarily halted, and the resolution does refer critically to that hesitation. We hope that it can be overcome very rapidly and we would strongly express the hope that there will be no further conditions placed in the way of the work of the Electoral Commission. In that respect, we believe that RENAMO has a particular responsibility not to raise further difficulties.

Finally, we very much look forward to the Secretary-General's report on the possibilities for responding to the two parties' wish that the United Nations monitor police activities. We hope that in the interests of timeliness and economy, the Secretariat will consider transferring some of the elements of ONUMOZ that are already deployed to meet this task. We for our part will be ready to take decisions on the report of the Secretary-General when it is submitted to us, and we hope that report can come forward, as the Council has asked, before the end of October.

I will conclude by saying that we very strongly support and welcome the work done by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Mr. Ajello seems to us to be navigating with great skill under quite difficult circumstances to apply a very complex Agreement, and he has all our support.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): I would like to begin by extending to you, Mr. President, a very warm welcome to New York, not that you are a stranger here. The facility and ease with which you have settled into your new position is just one indication of your experience and capabilities. In the few days that you have been here, you have indeed proved to be a worthy successor to your brilliant predecessor.

Immediately upon arrival, you have been straddled with the difficult and demanding task of presiding over the Security Council. I wish to congratulate you not only on assuming the office of President of the Council but also on the skilful manner with which you are discharging your onerous responsibilities. I pledge to you the unqualified cooperation of my delegation.

May I also place on record our special thanks and sincere appreciation for the leadership that Ambassador Madeleine Albright, Permanent Representative of the United States, provided to the Council last month. Her presidency bore the stamp not only of diligence, thoroughness and efficiency but also of her personal charm, warmth and a particularly strong human touch. My delegation was profoundly impressed by her sincerity and her most effective leadership.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his report of 30 August 1993 on Mozambique. The report is informative and lucid. We also appreciate the information provided subsequent to the report.

There are a number of positive developments in the ongoing process in Mozambique which are a source of satisfaction to my delegation. We are pleased that the military component of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) is now fully deployed and that considerable progress has been made in the establishment of assembly areas for the cantonment and eventual demobilization of Mozambique Government troops and RENAMO troops. We are thankful to all the troop-contributing countries, as without their contributions this would not have been possible.

The continuing flow of Mozambican refugees back to their country is another encouraging sign. This shows that, despite some initial hesitation, the process set in motion under United Nations auspices and within the framework of the General Peace Agreement enjoys credibility among the people of Mozambique.

We are encouraged that some of the Commissions set up under the General Peace Agreement have continued their work and made headway in a number of areas. However, the failure of the Commission for State Administration, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission to convene is indeed disturbing. We urge the Mozambique Government as well as RENAMO to immediately resolve their differences in this context and to make the Commissions functional without any further delay.

Perhaps the most significant recent development is the commencement of direct talks between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama. These talks have already led to an important agreement. We endorse their joint request for United Nations monitoring of police activities in Mozambique, and would encourage the Secretary-General to move as expeditiously as possible in this regard. We also welcome the readiness of RENAMO to accept the principle of a single Administration for all of Mozambique.

Despite the recent forward movement in the implementation of the Mozambique Peace Agreement, the delays that have already occurred have not been fully

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

overcome. The progress towards the finalization of the election law is much too slow. The apparent deadlock over the question of the composition of the National Electoral Commission is unfortunate. If work relating to the election law, as well as in other areas, is not completed in time, the entire programme could be thrown into disarray, making it impossible to hold the general elections in October 1994, as presently envisaged.

The imbroglio in Mozambique is basically an internal problem of that country. The international community has already invested a lot of time, effort and money, and is prepared to continue to assist the Mozambicans in restoring democratic institutions, stability and law and order in their country. But the leaders of Mozambique would be well advised not to treat the international commitment as open-ended nor to regard the resources being made available to help them as inexhaustible.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, since it addresses adequately the concerns and views of the Government of Pakistan on the peace process in Mozambique.

The President (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): Allow me to express to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September.

I also wish to convey my warm thanks and appreciation to Ambassador Albright for the skilful manner in which she guided the Council's work last month.

Japan welcomed the start of the meetings between Mr. Chissano, the President of Mozambique, and Mr. Dhlakama, the President of RENAMO. But unfortunately the peace process does not appear to be advancing smoothly, and the delay that continues to beset the peace process is a source of profound concern to all. For this reason, Japan supported the resolution we have just adopted and is gratified that by virtue of its unanimous adoption it conveys the unity of the Council's views on this matter.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

The resolution reaffirms the international community's commitment to restore peace to Mozambique and its insistence that the elections be held no later than October next year. Past experience in Africa has taught us that the assembly and demobilization of troops should be effected before the elections take place, and that if the scheduled date of the elections is to be met this effort of cantonment and demobilization should begin immediately.

My Government has been approached on the need for economic support and foreign investment for the economic reconstruction of Mozambique. But progress in the peace process is perhaps essential for smooth and effective implementation of assistance and investment from abroad.

In their first direct talks the two leaders reached agreement on a number of elements that are critically important to the implementation of the peace process. It is now time for both sides to demonstrate their good faith by translating their words into actions that will restore genuine peace and democracy to Mozambique.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Japan for his statement.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): First, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on the effective way in which you are carrying out your functions. Your well-known diplomatic skill is the best guarantee of positive results from the Council's work this month. I also wish to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Albright of the United States for the excellent way in which she conducted our work during August.

The report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mozambique, and in particular the document signed on 3 September in Maputo by the President of the Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Chissano, and the leader of RENAMO, Mr. Dhalakama, emphasize the importance of the recent progress achieved in the peace process in that country in order to bring about the rapid implementation of all the provisions of the General Peace Agreement.

The Council can congratulate itself on the fact that since the adoption of resolution 850 (1993) two months ago the parties to the conflict have demonstrated to the international community, through concrete facts, their

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

determination to resolve their differences and make progress in the peace process. The recent meetings between President Chissano and Mr. Dhalakama are clear proof of this. We sincerely hope that this dialogue will maintained as an essential part of the peace process and will make it possible to make progress on the various outstanding issues, with a view to ensuring that the process leads to a happy conclusion with the holding of democratic elections in October 1994.

We must also congratulate ourselves on the fact that the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), in which my country participates, is effectively carrying out its mandate under the skilful leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ajello. The completion of the deployment of ONUMOZ is good news, as is the progress in the work of the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force, which is permitting the training of instructors in Nyanga, as well as other far-reaching measures.

The work of helping the people of Mozambique, who for 16 years have suffered the consequences of a bloody conflict, and of making it possible to rebuild their society is an integral part of the work of the United Nations forces in that country. Therefore, we must reaffirm the need for the humanitarian assistance programme to continue to have the cooperation of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO in order to give the civilian population full access to humanitarian aid.

The agreement reached on 3 September embodies the principle of a single Administration for the whole country. This matter, which was formerly one of the main difficulties between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO, has been satisfactorily resolved by the two parties. We appeal to them to ensure that the agreement is rapidly and effectively put into practice in the field, thus creating the necessary basis for the development of democracy and the holding of elections.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

We are certain that the Security Council will consider favourably the proposals to be submitted to it by the Secretary-General in order to respond to the request of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO that the United Nations carry out police activity observer missions in the country. This aspect is of crucial importance in order to build confidence among all parties and citizens, and the United Nations must continue to play an active role in this area. We also trust that this will give the Secretary-General an opportunity to review the current deployment of ONUMOZ in order to adapt it to the new circumstances.

In connection with these facts, which are very encouraging, we must also express our concern at the difficulties that persist in certain essential points of the compliance with the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. The hopes of the people of Mozambique and the international community cannot be disappointed, particularly now that there is a dynamic of progress. Accordingly, the Council has adopted resolution 863 (1993), which reflects both its satisfaction and its impatience to see the light at the end of the tunnel, which is only too slow in coming.

The will of the parties, and RENAMO in particular, must be reconfirmed by a rapid start of the process of cantonment and demobilization of troops in accordance with the revised timetable for the implementation of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. It must also be reconfirmed with the beginning and development of the work of the various national commissions. Lastly, it should be reaffirmed, and speedily, by the agreement of all parties on the draft election law, including the establishment of a national election commission that is balanced and effective. These are the steps to be achieved and they must be achieved relatively quickly, if there is any true desire to hold democratic elections by October 1994.

My delegation would like to express its concern that any delay in this process will eventually wear out the international community, adversely affecting external support for the entire process. Spain is committed to the peace process in Mozambique, and we are therefore hopeful that the interests of the people of Mozambique will prevail above all else in the priorities of the Government and RENAMO. Those priorities, which the international community

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

shares, are peace, reconciliation and development. The 3 September document shows the path to be followed.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Spain for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): I should like to thank Ambassdor Albright of the United States for her excellent guidance of the Security Council's work during the month of August.

I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome you, Sir, and to express my certainty that you will guarantee the effective functioning of the Council's deliberations during the month of September.

The adoption of resolution 863 (1993) is an important stage in the settlement process that will lead Mozambique to a state of lasting internal peace and security. If, as we would wish, this process is accompanied by the necessary wisdom, clear-sightedness and political will of the Mozambican leaders, the efforts to establish democratic political institutions in that southern African country will be crowned with success. If, however, these essential elements are missing, the situation can only culminate in a new and bloody tragedy for the Mozambican people.

We believe that the Security Council's action is timely, because the positive internal developments within the country now need fresh political stimulus from the outside so as to give fresh impetus to the talks between the Mozambican Government and RENAMO and to halt unjustified attempts to slow and harmfully delay the settlement process. In this context, we attach importance to the firm language of the resolution, particularly as regards the cantonment and demobilization of troops, as well as the establishment of the revised calendar for the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. The political attention and commitment of the Security Council are, we are sure, a significant contribution to the holding of free and fair elections in Mozambique in October 1994, at the latest, and to respect for the results of these elections by the parties involved. In this way, we will avoid repeating the poor example recently set in the same area of Africa, the consequences of which continue to afflict the Angolan people.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

For the settlement process to achieve results, it is essential to establish a single administrative system covering the entire territory of the country. We expect the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO alike to permit without further delay the effective functioning of the National Commission for Administration, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission. In any case, the Security Council will continue to follow closely the evolution of the situation relating to the implementation of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement. It should also be noted that, in accordance with resolution 863 (1993), the Council will receive a further report of the Secretary-General on this matter before the end of October.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Hungary for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS **S**

Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3275
14 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 14 September 1993, at 5.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT

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93-86523 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CROATIA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its profound concern at the reports from the Secretariat of recent military hostilities in Croatia, in particular the escalation of the means employed, and the grave threat they pose to the peace process in Geneva and overall stability in the former Yugoslavia.

"The Council reaffirms its respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, and calls on both sides to accept UNPROFOR's proposal of an immediate cease-fire. It calls on the Croatian Government to withdraw its armed forces to positions occupied before 9 September 1993, on the basis of that proposal, and calls on the Serbian forces to halt all provocative military actions."

(The President)

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/26436.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3276
14 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 14 September 1993, at 5.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT

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93-86529 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its profound concern over recent reports that Bosnian Croats have been holding Bosnian Muslims in detention camps under deplorable conditions. The Council recalls the international revulsion and condemnation that accompanied revelations last year of the conditions under which Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats were being held in Bosnian Serb detention camps.

(The President)

"The Council reiterates the principle that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) must be given access to all detainees in Bosnia wherever they may be held. It notes that the ICRC has recently been given access to some detainees, but recalls with condemnation the obstacles which the Bosnian Croats have previously placed in the way of the ICRCs attempts to gain access to the camps in order to ascertain the conditions of the detained. It also notes the recent appeal addressed by the President of Croatia to the Bosnia Croats (S/26419).

"The Council emphasizes the fact that inhumane treatment and abuses in detention centres violates international humanitarian law. Moreover, as the Council has previously recalled, persons who commit or order the commission of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions are individually responsible in respect of such breaches.

"The Council calls upon the Bosnian Croats to supply immediately to the ICRC complete information on all camps where Bosnian Muslim and any other prisoners are being held, and to assure the ICRC and all other legitimately concerned international bodies free and unhindered access to the detained, wherever they may be held.

"The Council believes that the Government of Croatia has a responsibility to use its influence with the Bosnian Croats to secure compliance with this statement and calls on the Government of Croatia to take immediate steps to that end.

"The Council further reaffirms that all parties to the conflict are bound to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and in particular the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and reminds them of its willingness to consider appropriate actions if any of them should fail to abide scrupulously by their obligations.

"The Council decides to remain seized of the matter."

(The President)

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/26437.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3277
15 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 15 September 1993, at 7.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. E. YAMAMOTO
	Morocco	Mr. ZAHID
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	United States of America	Mr. GREY

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93-86545 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION II (UNAVEM II) (S/26434 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Egypt, Nigeria and Portugal in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. De Moura (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Gambari (Nigeria) and Mr. Catarino (Portugal) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), documents S/26434 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them documents S/26445, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should also like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/26410, which contains the text of a letter dated 3 September 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires, a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the Minister for External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venancio De Moura. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. DE MOURA (Angola) (Spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the Security Council for this month. Your presidency began a few days before the beginning of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, which will once again deliberate on the important problems of today's international politics, namely, the areas of restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations; the resolution of regional conflicts that prevail throughout the world and affect peace, as well as the socio-economic development of our people; complex financial issues bearing on the survival of the United Nations and on sustaining United Nations peace operations; and it will also analyse and take decisions to safeguard the administrative situation of the United Nations.

I cannot allow the opportunity to pass without expressing our profound gratitude for the efforts undertaken by Mrs. Madeleine Korbel Albright, the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, during her term. The present meeting, under your presidency, will analyse the current situation in Angola, as well as adopt energetic and efficient measures to restore peace in that United Nations Member State, based on the Bicesse Accords signed on 19 May 1991 in Portugal, which were endorsed by the Security Council.

Sixty days ago, on 15 July 1993, we were together in this same Chamber after the unanimous adoption of resolution 851 (1993). Since that time, no progress has been made in spite of the efforts made by the Angolan Government, the international community and especially by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, to end the hostilities unleashed by Jonas Savimbi and his radical and militarist group. The resumption of the negotiations process, based on the Bicesse Accords, the Abidjan Protocol, and the resolutions of this great assembly, did not take place owing to the refusal of UNITA.

(Mr. De Moura, Angola)

As members know, my Government made several concessions in Abidjan out of respect for President Houphouët-Boigny. Those concessions were praised by the international community as proof of the Angolan Government's maturity and flexibility. The concessions were contrary to several principles of Angolan judicial and constitutional law. In making them, we sought to put an end to the suffering the Angolan people has endured since October 1992 and to impede the destruction of the social and economic infrastructure of the country by Mr. Jonas Savimbi's UNITA.

The sad reality which confronts us in Angola is that Mr. Savimbi, after having lost the elections, imposed a third cruel and devastating war on the Angolan people. He is acting like a poor loser, an ambitious and power-hungry person who, unable to win at the ballot box, now wishes to gain power through force of arms.

Because of this situation, more than 1,000 deaths occur daily in Angola, according to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). We have the highest infant mortality rate in the world: 292 children die every day in Angola. We have the highest rate of amputees per capita in the world, and nearly 3 million displaced persons who are at this moment seeking refuge in government-controlled zones. As if this were not enough, between October 1992 and today, there have been more than 100,000 deaths in Angola.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, has stated:

> "The military situation is difficult and the humanitarian situation is catastrophic. It is the cause of the critical political and social situation in which Angola lives, which has no equivalent in the present situations in Somalia, Bosnia, Cambodia or even some countries of the former Soviet Union."

As the members of the Security Council realize, the situation described in that statement results from the fact that UNITA has not fulfilled any of the Security Council's resolutions. In fact, UNITA actions have increased since the last meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Angola. Their ambition to conquer more of the national territory has grown. They have intensified their attacks and reinforced their presence in the province of Bie, with the aim

(Mr. De Moura, Angola)

of taking over Kuito City, where citizens of Angola and foreigners are dying not only because of the war waged by UNITA on those towns, which have been under siege for more than eight months, but also because of the famine that has reached such proportions that people are obliged to nourish themselves with human flesh in order to survive.

In the face of this tragedy, this holocaust, the Angolan people whose bodies suffer the horrors of this war every day have the right to ask how long this important body, responsible for world peace and security, will allow the UNITA leader to perpetuate with impunity such horrendous massacres, which fly in the face of the human conscience and discredit and insult the Security Council and the international community.

Today, we can say unhesitatingly that the time has come to impose mandatory sanctions on UNITA in order to force them to stop the war and resume a frank and serious dialogue which will not only bring lasting peace to the martyred Angolan people but also enable UNITA itself to participate in the democratic process and in the social and economic reconstruction of the country.

What the Angola people desire and hope for from the Security Council is the adoption of more energetic and effective measures to put an end to the tragic situation in the country, a situation for which Mr. Savimbi is solely responsible.

In accordance with paragraph 12 of resolution 851 (1993) of 15 July 1993, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, should in our view adopt the following measures:

First, impose a mandatory total embargo on the sale or supply of arms and all related military matériel to UNITA, and on any other form of military assistance to that organization. Second, require that all countries, in particular those in the region or neighbours of Angola, prohibit the sale or supply of petroleum or petroleum products to UNITA and prohibit any type of logistical support or transit that would permit UNITA to continue its military activities. Third, close UNITA offices and any other form of UNITA representation and ban any political and propagandistic activity by the organization in any country. Fourth, seize and freeze existing bank accounts under the name of UNITA, its delegations or representatives, or under the name of its leaders.

(Mr. De Moura, Angola)

Fifth, take appropriate measures under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to guarantee humanitarian assistance to the needy population throughout the country.

Sixth, recognize the legitimate rights of the Angolan Government and welcome all assistance to this Government in restoring peace, defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the consolidation of democracy.

Seventh, demand that UNITA respect human rights and unconditionally free all Angolan citizens and foreigners being held captive.

Eighth, call upon all Member States of the United Nations, United Nations organizations and non-governmental organizations to contribute generously all types of assistance to the humanitarian emergency plan of assistance to Angola.

These measures could constitute a positive turning-point for the situation in Angola. Because of all that has been tolerated and as long as the Angolan people continue to live through this tragedy, the current situation could be interpreted as weakness or inadequacy on the part of this Organization, whose credibility and authority must be maintained and strengthened.

The measures we are proposing are within members' reach. All that is needed is the political will to take action. To refuse to do so, to delay or even to wait until tomorrow would only be turning a blind eye to your duties. This would set a bad example for the rising young democracies of Africa and the world. We are therefore convinced that the Security Council will reflect the conscience and legitimate aspirations of the international community. It will not allow itself today to be ridiculed by a number of divisive manoeuvres that the leader of UNITA is now testing with the objective of deceiving international public opinion and avoiding a firm condemnation from the Security Council as well as the adoption of mandatory sanctions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank His Excellency the Minister of External Relations for Angola for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you back to New York and to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. I have no doubt that with your wealth of diplomatic experience the tasks before the Council this month are indeed in very capable and very competent hands.

I should also like to convey, through you, my delegation's thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Madeleine Albright of the United States, for the very efficient manner in which she discharged her duties as President of the Council for the month of August.

May I also warmly welcome the Minister of External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venancio De Moura. My delegation congratulates him for his lucid and forthright statement before this Council.

My delegation warmly congratulates the Secretary-General for his additional report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) contained in document S/26434 of 13 September 1993. We are impressed by its excellent analysis and by its comprehensiveness. In this connection, our thanks also go to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola, Mr. Blondin Beye, whose zeal and enthusiasm for results under even the most difficult circumstances in Angola have remained undaunted.

For us in Nigeria, Angola occupies a very special place in our national consciousness and affections. The Government and the people of Nigeria remain firmly committed to the territorial integrity of Angola and the well-being of its citizens. Nigeria has demonstrated its commitment time and time again to the search for the peaceful settlement of conflicts throughout the world, especially those in Africa.

That is why the Nigerian delegation is deeply concerned at the deterioration of the security and political situation in the brotherly country of Angola. We are saddened that, in spite of the untiring efforts that have been made internationally, peace continues to be as elusive as ever. In particular, we are sorely disturbed by the fact that, owing to the intensification of fighting in several parts of the country, the administration of humanitarian services has been most adversely affected - a situation that has

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

further compounded the hardships and suffering of the masses of people in the country.

It is a matter of serious regret to my delegation to note, as succinctly underscored in the Secretary-General's report:

" ... some 3 million people, particularly the most vulnerable population groups - children, women and the elderly - are suffering from the consequences of the conflict." (S/26434, para. 20).

The report further states that

"It is widely estimated that 1,000 persons die every day from the direct or indirect effects of the war, the highest fatality rate of any conflict in the world." (ibid.)

In light of the dreadful situation prevailing in Angola, the international community has a duty and an obligation to take immediate and drastic action. It must not allow itself to be held hostage to the intransigence of a party to the conflict determined to prolong the suffering of the ordinary people of Angola and sabotage international commitments to peace and a peaceful process. The people of Angola do not deserve to continue to live in a perpetual state of fear for their lives and for their property. They too, like the rest of humanity, deserve to be given an opportunity to live in peace and to pursue development.

It is in this context that the Nigerian delegation welcomes the present draft resolution under consideration by the Council and recommends it for unanimous adoption. It is important that the international community, embodied in the United Nations, send out the strongest possible signals to the rebel party in Angola, UNITA, that enough is enough and that its patience is running out.

UNITA must henceforth make visible and credible efforts to assist rather than impede the peace process in Angola. UNITA, and in particular its leadership, must take responsibility for the prolongation of the conflict and the attendant misery and death which have been visited on the people of Angola. At this point in time, when old antagonists are reaching agreements to resolve their conflicts, at a time when most societies and nations, in the aftermath of the cold war, seem more disposed and more determined to work for peace, elements in Angola must not be allowed to continue to undermine international efforts to

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

establish peace in the country. It should be made crystal-clear to UNITA that henceforth the international community will not allow it to continue to toy with the lives of its countrymen and women by procrastinating on the peace process. They need to be clearly told that no legitimate alternative exists to the pursuit of peace in their country outside of the framework of the Acordos de Paz and the United Nations.

Permit me to conclude by extending Nigeria's appreciation to the ongoing efforts which the Organization of African Unity as a body has been making to advance the peace process in Angola. We also wish to commend the efforts of individuals, States and of other groups helping to achieve the same goal.

We are convinced that the graduated measures contained in the present draft resolution, including, in particular, the imposition of sanctions, are critical to galvanizing the peace process and achieving lasting peace in Angola. We therefore urge all members of the international community to cooperate in the full implementation of the terms of the new resolution, and at the same time, appeal to the Government of Angola, and in particular to UNITA, to resume promptly negotiations aimed at the early and peaceful resolution of the conflict in the country. The people of Angola have surely suffered enough.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me first, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am pleased to see you in this high position, because I know very well your abilities and diplomatic experience, and I am confident that the Council is in good hands.

I also wish to express our appreciation of the United States Ambassador's great efforts and able guidance of the Council during her presidency last month.

It is a great honour for the delegation of Egypt to address the Council once again, on behalf of the present chairmanship of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), regarding the question of Angola, which causes the deepest concern on the African continent. We would like to express the support and solidarity of the continent as a whole for the efforts of the Government of Angola to establish peace and security.

We are happy to welcome the Foreign Minister of Angola and to thank him for his clear and comprehensive statement. His observations a few minutes ago eloquently and precisely described an extremely serious situation, resulting from the continued fighting and the increased lack of trust which impede the realization of meaningful political reconciliation in Angola. The situation threatens grave consequences for the peace and security of the region. It has led to a deterioration at every political and military level, and the humanitarian dimensions have become very tragic, especially since, as is stated in the Secretary-General's report, the fatality rate has become the highest of any conflict in the world.

The continued deterioration of the serious situation in Angola - despite the diplomatic efforts and initiatives of the Government of Angola, the efforts at the international level by the Secretary-General and at the African level by the OAU, as well as the efforts of African countries - makes it important that the Security Council face up to the situation by taking specific, effective action.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Here I must mention the Declaration of the OAU Summit Meeting in Cairo last June and the efforts of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, as well as the initiatives of the Heads of neighbouring States.

The three observer countries have continuously made parallel efforts complementing the African efforts, supported by the ceaseless efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to move the peace process forward, efforts which we respect very much.

Despite the multiplicity of peace initiatives, the latest report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Angola causes more concern. The fighting is still continuing openly, and it is intensifying all over the country, resulting in heavy loss of life and the complete destruction of the infrastructure.

Since the signing of the Bicesse Accords the Angolan Government has undertaken responsibility for establishing peace and security for the people of Angola. It welcomed the participation of all political movements, including UNITA, in the formation of a Government of national reconciliation. The Government also tried in vain to urge UNITA to respect the legitimacy, and accept the results, of last September's elections as a basis for achieving a political settlement in Angola. As we know, UNITA's answer was complete rejection, which is regarded as proof of non-compliance with the principles of democracy and complete disregard of the interests of the people of Angola as well as complete defiance of the will of the international community.

In resolution 851 (1993) of 15 July the Security Council gave UNITA a chance to participate in the national efforts to achieve peace within the framework of legitimacy and democracy in order to implement the peace agreements, but UNITA did not observe that resolution. Therefore, the Council must deal with the crisis by choosing the right option and taking the necessary measures to prompt UNITA to abide by the international will.

The delegation of Egypt supports the draft resolution which the Security Council will adopt today and agrees with the specific measures taken against UNITA under Chapter VII of the Charter. We also welcome the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) and the

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Council's willingness to take urgent measures to extend the presence of the United Nations in Angola if tangible progress in the peace process is achieved.

Finally, my delegation would like to emphasize the importance of consultation and continuous coordination between the United Nations and the OAU in efforts to put an end to the Angolan crisis, and expresses Egypt's willingness to take part in all efforts to achieve peace, in addition to its participation in UNAVEM II and its contribution in providing urgent humanitarian assistance to create appropriate conditions to put an end to the great suffering of the people of this fraternal African country.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CATARINO (Portugal): Before I begin, please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on the manner in which you have conducted the work of the Council during the current month. Despite your recent arrival, your expertise and diplomatic skills have smoothly and efficiently guided the deliberations of the Council. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the thoughtful and productive term of your predecessor, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, as President of this Council.

I should also like to salute the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Dr. Venancio De Moura. His presence here today attests to the importance of this meeting.

Again we are gathered here to address the situation in Angola, where war continues to intensify and peace continues to be elusive. When the Council adopted resolution 851 (1993) it clearly laid down the terms for peace in Angola. It condemned UNITA for its continuing military actions and demanded that this movement cease such actions immediately and accept unreservedly the Acordos de Paz and the results of the September 1992 elections, which the international community has recognized, in general terms, as free and fair.

In paragraph 12 of resolution 851 (1993), the Council expressed its readiness to consider the imposition of measures to prevent UNITA from pursuing its military actions unless, by 15 September, the Secretary-General had reported that an effective cease-fire had been established and that agreement had been reached on the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz and relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Today, 15 September, UNITA has still not complied with the Council's demands. The Security Council must now act accordingly.

The United Nations, especially through the invaluable work of the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, Miss Margaret Anstee and now Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, have spared no efforts to bring UNITA back to the negotiating table. The observer countries to the Angolan peace process have consistently supported and closely cooperated with those United Nations efforts.

First it was in Addis Ababa I and then in Addis Ababa II - to no avail. Later it was in Abidjan. The hopes created by the establishment of a set of additional principles in Abidjan were once again dashed by UNITA's refusal to

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

accept those principles. On the contrary, UNITA pursued and intensified its war option.

We fully support any effort to persuade the leadership of UNITA to return to the negotiating table. We believe that the solution of the Angolan conflict will have to be found in a negotiated settlement leading to genuine national reconciliation. But we fail to see any concrete evidence that Mr. Savimbi feels the same way.

After the signature of the Acordos de Paz, the Angolan people had the legitimate hope of living in peace and prosperity in a democratic environment after expressing its wishes at the ballot box. The period between Bicesse and the elections was a flourishing time, in terms not only of economic activity but, more importantly, of political development, with a significant number of parties appearing on the scene. It was a time of peace and hope. By not accepting the results of the elections, UNITA has denied all these expectations.

The tragic humanitarian situation in Angola is worsening every day and by far surpasses in agony, death and suffering all other present arenas of confrontation. The United Nations attempts to alleviate the suffering brought on by the conflict. It is unacceptable to allow the continued disruption of the distribution of humanitarian relief.

At this point, we should like to draw attention to the tragedy of all foreign citizens trapped in areas of conflict in Angola. We demand the immediate release of all foreigners held captive by UNITA.

We support the draft resolution before the Security Council, and we hope it will lead to a prompt resumption of fruitful negotiations carried out in good faith and leading to the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz, the acceptance of the results of the September 1992 elections, the additional principles reached in Abidjan and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

This draft resolution indicates clearly the resolve of the Security Council to take action and the determination of the international community to bring peace to Angola. We sincerely hope that it will mark the beginning of the end of war in Angola.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Portugal for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): As we meet once again to consider and take action on the situation in Angola, we cannot but be extremely concerned and distressed at the seriousness of the situation in that African and South Atlantic country to which Brazil is so closely linked.

The persistence of armed conflict in Angola, which has brought about a humanitarian crisis of tragic proportions, calls for urgent and decisive action on the part of the international community - the Security Council in particular - to reinstate the peace process based on the implementation of the Acordos de Paz and of the resolutions of the Security Council.

The report submitted by the Secretary-General informs us that up to 1,000 people have been dying every day in Angola from causes related directly or indirectly to the conflict. That is a stark reminder of the need for the Security Council to take strong measures to bring to an end that destructive fratricidal conflict. Ours is a heavy responsibility.

In its previous resolutions the Security Council has made it clear beyond all doubt that there is already a political framework for peace in Angola. That framework is spelled out in the Acordos de Paz and the peace process that had developed on that basis, including the democratic elections held in 1992 under United Nations supervision. The parameters elaborated last May in Abidjan provided important elements for putting the peace process back on track, with a view to the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz.

The legal and political framework is already there. The continued readiness of the Government of Angola to reach a peaceful settlement has already been recognized by the Council. The statement made in this Chamber today by the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venancio De Moura, is an eloquent illustration of that disposition.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

The only element lacking is a clear display of political will on the part of UNITA, translated into practical and unequivocal measures, to accept that legal and political framework and to work concretely within that context to allow the peace process to be resumed. By logical implication - as indicated in the draft resolution before us - that requires abandoning a strategy of military actions aimed at seizing or holding on to territory by force.

We have noted with interest recent statements by UNITA that it would be ready to work towards peace. It is essential that such statements be translated into concrete steps fully in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council.

As we have stressed on previous occasions, the door remains open for UNITA to play a constructive role, now and in the years to come, on the basis of peaceful negotiations and democratic participation. We continue to hope that UNITA will assume its democratic and political role in building a peaceful future for the Angolan nation.

At the same time, however, it is no less important that the UNITA leadership understand that the United Nations will not turn a blind eye to violations of Security Council resolutions and that this Organization would be betraying its most basic principles if it were to allow force to prevail over the rule of law.

It was thus appropriate that the Security Council should determine, as it did last July, that the military campaign carried out by UNITA has to stop and that, if necessary, the Council would take effective measures to make it stop. In resolution 851 (1993), paragraph 12, the Council affirmed that it would be ready to impose sanctions against UNITA by today, 15 September, unless the Secretary-General reported that: first, an effective cease-fire had been established; and, secondly, that agreement had been reached for the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz and the resolutions of the Security Council.

Much to our disappointment, those conditions are clearly not met. In spite of the continuous efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye - and those efforts deserve our highest praise - an effective cease-fire has not been established and no

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

agreement has yet been reached for the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz and of the resolutions of the Council.

Under those circumstances, the Council could not fail to exercise its responsibilities. The draft resolution before the Council includes the imposition of strong measures: the prohibition of all sale or supply to UNITA of any kind of arms and military equipment, or military assistance as well as of petroleum and petroleum products.

The scope of these measures reflects the goal at which they are aimed: bringing to an end the military actions of UNITA, as a result of which a threat to international peace and security is determined to exist in Angola. The strength of these measures reflects the firm determination of the Council to ensure that UNITA will respect the Council's resolutions and will take the concrete steps that are required for the peace process to be resumed.

Brazil is convinced that the imposition of such strong measures under Chapter VII of the Charter is an extraordinary decision that should only be applied in circumstances that are particularly serious. It is our belief that this is unfortunately the case now in Angola. In that spirit we give our full support to the draft resolution under consideration.

We wish to express our appreciation for the efforts carried out by the Secretary-General and by his Special Representative, which continue to be essential for the solution of the Angolan crisis. These efforts, undertaken to ensure respect for the resolutions of the Security Council, thus carrying the weight of the Council's authority, can, and we hope will, be successful. The decisions to be taken today will further underline that fact and will, we are convinced, contribute to enhancing the effectiveness of those efforts.

The draft resolution provides for a number of steps that may or may not be taken by the Security Council in the coming weeks or months. There can be no doubt that the Council will continue to follow the matter closely and that it will be ready to take even stronger measures, should it be necessary.

But it is our sincere hope that the next time we meet to consider this most serious question, it will be in a significantly changed panorama, in which we will be able to identify much brighter prospects for peace in Angola.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The signing of the Acordos de Paz by the Angolan Government and UNITA in May 1991 and the general elections held in Angola with the assistance of the international community in September last year have brought the hope of peace to the war-ridden people there. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, as well as the front-line African countries, have made tremendous efforts for the settlement of the Angolan question and important progress had once been made in the process of finding a political settlement. However, owing to UNITA's refusal to accept the results of the general elections and its non-observance of the relevant Security Council resolutions, the situation in Angola continues to deteriorate, escalating the civil war and forcing a huge exodus of refugees into neighbouring States. As a result, the work of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) is confronted with enormous difficulties, which have affected peace and security in the region. The Chinese delegation therefore wishes to express its deep concern and anxiety.

The Chinese delegation has followed closely the development of the situation in Angola and is of the view that Angola's national reconciliation can only be realized and the differences resolved by negotiation and dialogue. Any attempts to win by force are short-sighed and undesirable.

We hold that the current sanctions to be imposed by the Security Council on UNITA are measures taken in line with the special circumstances in Angola. The sanctions themselves are not the end, but rather only the means designed to urge UNITA to resume negotiations with the Angolan Government as soon as possible and bring the civil war to an end at an early date. We therefore hope that the envisaged sanctions will help bring about a genuine cease-fire at an early date and agreement on the comprehensive implementation of the Acordos de Paz and the Security Council resolutions so that the Security Council will be able to consider the lifting of the sanctions in due course.

We strongly call on UNITA to cease forthwith all hostile activities, to withdraw from the occupied territories, to ensure the safe withdrawal of foreign nationals from the areas under its control and the smooth conduct of humanitarian assistance. We urge both parties in Angola, especially UNITA, to cooperate fully with UNAVEM II, comprehensively to implement the Acordos de Paz

(Li Zhaoxing, China)

and the relevant Security Council resolutions and to create the necessary conditions for the advancement of the peace process and the realization of national reconciliation. We approve of UNAVEM II's continued efforts in the settlement of the Angolan question and support the Secretary-General's recommendation on the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II. Based on the above considerations, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Approximately a year ago, on 29 and 30 September 1992, elections were held in Angola under the supervision of the United Nations, which presupposed the initiation of a path towards democracy and national reconciliation in the country. The wishes of the Angolan people were freely expressed at the ballot box and the international community trusted that the lengthy fratricidal conflict was to become a part of the past of Angola. Unfortunately that was not the case, and we all know who bears the responsibility.

Time and again the Security Council has had roundly to condemn UNITA's rejection of the outcome of the elections, its failure to participate in the political institutions that were established on the basis of said elections, its withdrawal from the new armed forces of Angola, its capture of territory by force and, the violation of the cease-fire and the resumption of hostilities.

At the same time, the Security Council has placed its hope time and again in the continuous efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Angola to find a lasting solution to the conflict, based on the peace accords and the Security Council resolutions.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

The Ad-Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as several African heads of State, have evinced a praiseworthy determination to expedite resumption of the peace process in Angola.

The three observer states of the peace process - the United States, Portugal and Russia - have spared no efforts for the same cause. Unfortunately, the most recent report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola does not hold out much hope for a rapid solution to the country's tragic situation, owing to the intransigence of UNITA.

The draft resolution we are to adopt today opens a new chapter in the conduct of the United Nations in Angola and its commitment to achieve lasting, effective peace on the basis of the electoral results and in full compliance with the Acordos de Paz and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

Exactly two months ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 851 (1993), which set down the bases for future Council action if, by today, the negotiating process, under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at ensuring full compliance with the Acordos de Paz had not been reactivated. Regretfully, we must acknowledge that the hopes of the international community have been dashed and its continuous efforts have not been heeded. Our patience has come to an end.

My delegation has also taken note of the statement made by the three observer countries in the peace process in Angola, which at their Lisbon meeting on 10 September deemed it necessary to recommend the adoption of measures to ensure that the international community prevent UNITA from pursuing war.

For the aforementioned reasons, Spain considers that the time has come to adopt appropriate measures vis-à-vis UNITA's systematic violation of resolutions adopted by the Council and accords that have been reached.

The Council must act in faith with itself. It is preparing to carry out the provisions announced in paragraph 12 of resolution 851 (1993), in other words, to act under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter in order to impose sanctions to prevent the supply of weapons, military matériel and petroleum to UNITA. These are the initial measures to be taken in response to the intransigence of an organization that refuses to acknowledge the freely expressed will of the Angolan people and which continues to pursue a civil war

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

in which tens of thousands of human lives are being lost, thus causing the greatest human tragedy in the world at this time.

The mechanisms for achieving a just and lasting peace in Angola have been clearly defined in the Acordos de Paz and in previous resolutions adopted by the Council. The tragedy that is afflicting the Angolan people is due to the irresponsibility of UNITA and its leadership in refusing to recognize the results of the democratic elections, violating concluded accords and continuing the civil war at all costs.

We the members of the Council have been informed that the leader of UNITA, Mr. Savimbi, stands ready to declare a unilateral cease-fire and return to the negotiating table. This news will be encouraging if and when his disposition manifests itself in concrete facts with the establishment of an effective cease-fire throughout the territory and an agreement between the parties regarding the full implementation of the Acordos de Paz and the relevant Security Council resolutions.

In the draft resolution we are about to adopt, the Security Council has provided a 10-day delay for the implementation of the sanctions on UNITA in order, through the efforts of the Secretary-General, to allow UNITA one more chance to return to the negotiating table and take effective, concrete steps to implement the Acordos de Paz. Otherwise, once that time has elapsed, the draft resolution calls for the implementation of sanctions which my Government deems necessary, and which should be fully carried out.

Spain would like to acknowledge the integrity evinced by the Angolan Government in this very difficult situation as it cooperates with the efforts of the international community to reach a lasting and effective end to the conflict. The Government of President dos Santos, represented here by the Minister of External Relations, Mr. De Moura, has concretely manifested the confidence it places in the international community's ability to improve the situation of its citizens.

My delegation is also aware of our collective obligation to help the Angolan people achieve those objectives. Thus, in today's draft resolution, the extension of the mandate of United Nations Angola Verification Mission

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

(UNAVEM II) is approved, and the need for both parties, particularly UNITA, to allow the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance is emphasized.

The imposition of sanctions on a transgressor is never an agreeable task for the Security Council. I would like to conclude by expressing the desire that we will soon be in a position to reconsider the measures to be adopted today, because that would mean that UNITA had seen the light of reason and that the Angolan people were returning to the path of peace and reconciliation, liberty and development, just as the Haitian people recently did.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): It is a great pleasure for me to see you, Sir, presiding over this Council. The contribution you have already made to our deliberations is an indication that the Council's work will be fruitful this month. I would also like to express my appreciation for the skilful and friendly manner in which Ambassador Albright conducted the work of this Council last month. I congratulate her for the good results the Council achieved in the course of her presidency.

My delegation welcomes the presence here today of the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venancio De Moura.

Once again, we are considering the situation in Angola. We regret to note that, despite all the efforts expended, no progress has been made. In spite of the many attempts made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, nothing has happened to further the peace process since Abidjan.

As we have noted in the past, there is no military solution to the Angolan conflict. It is time for the peace efforts to lead to a serious approach. We sincerely hope that the draft resolution we are about to consider will be a turning-point in the efforts of this Council to assist the Angolan people in achieving peace.

The measures under Chapter VII now being considered are not an end in themselves. The purpose is not to punish anyone. The purpose is to demonstrate the determination of this Council to bring peace to Angola, and to that end to send a clear message that the negotiating efforts of the United Nations have to be taken seriously, now more than ever.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

Too much destruction has occurred in the country. Too many killings have taken place unnecessarily. It is time that the suffering of the Angolan people be ended. We hope that, in the intervening period of 10 days from now until the entry into force of these measures, a cease-fire will be reached and enough progress will be made to put the peace process back on track.

It is because we believe that the draft resolution before us can play a positive role in promoting a solution to the current difficulties that my delegation will cast its vote in favour.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): I wish at the outset to express to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption - at very short notice, if I may say so - of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. Indeed, your cautious and calculated but effective approach to guiding our work is already yielding valuable results.

I should also like to express our deep gratitude to Ambassador Albright of the United States for the effective manner in which she guided our work last month and for her candor and versatility.

I salute the Minister for External Relations of Angola, whose presence here today has undoubtedly strengthened the resolve of the international community to refocus on the untenable and miserable state of affairs prevailing in his country.

The report of the Secretary-General of 13 September 1993 is an informative and suggestive update of the Angolan tragedy and underscores the need for the Council to implement concrete measures as soon as possible. We are all conversant with the agreement worked out between the Government of Angola and UNITA leading to the Acordos de Paz and the fair and free elections held a year ago in Angola, and the additional principles reached in Abidjan.

As the Secretary-General indicates, the Angolan conflict has been the focus of an unimaginable level of international activity, so great has been the concern at the amount of human suffering and physical destruction in that country. With the signed accords, freely arrived at, and the elections of September 1992, there was a general presumption that peace would prevail, that words given would be followed by deeds and that Angola would at last begin the process of true reconciliation and development. Probably no one accepted this

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

promise more than the Government, which proceeded to significantly disarm and demobilize its forces in anticipation of the implementation of accords and the elections.

These events have not transpired. The fighting and suffering have, in fact, escalated to levels unprecedented in this long tragedy. The blame for this must be laid squarely at the feet of Jonas Savimbi, whose duplicity, cynicism and contempt for human life and values are unbounded. In some respects, he is an example of a phenomenon the United Nations can expect to encounter on a rising scale. As with Karadzic and Mladic in Bosnia, Pol Pot in Cambodia, Aidid in Somalia and various potential strongmen rising in central Asia, Savimbi is one of the new warlords - educated, cynical, clever and ruthless.

These warlords perceive the United Nations as weak and apprehensive, concerned more with TV news briefs than victory, prepared to accept the "reality" of what is rather than the means used to reach the situation or the principles underlying what should be. Having acquired what they want by "every means available", exhausting both the United Nations and their opponent, they will then call for peace talks, unilateral cease-fires and United Nations-sponsored arbitrators. The pattern is all too consistent. But Angola must not be a replay of Bosnia. Savimbi must be shown that there is another "reality".

For this reason, my delegation supports the draft resolution before us calling for sanctions against UNITA. As is usual, sanctions work to the extent that they are supported by the relevant community involved and the concern of its members for the consequences of violations. In the case of UNITA, this would be the use of the territory of adjacent countries for military, supply, transport and personnel purposes; flights to and from South Africa and to its creation, Bophuthatswana; and trade in diamonds through Zaire and on to the diamond markets of Europe.

It must be very clear to all members that the Council is prepared to move against all violations of these sanctions with additional sanctions.

Additional measures of merit to strengthen the impact of the sanctions which deserve consideration include technical assistance to countries around UNITA to identify overflights of supply planes; the sharing of intelligence

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

resources to identify States, companies and individuals supplying UNITA; and terminating UNITA's satellite telecommunications and fax facilities.

The measures regarding the sanctions regime we have so far covered are but one aspect of what the Council and Members can do to end this conflict. There is little doubt that the Government acted in good faith regarding the cease-fire, the accords, the disarming and the elections. Faced with renewed aggression, it has not only the right, but also - unlike Bosnia - the capability of rearming and defending itself. We urge that all possible assistance be given by Members to the Government to help it fight this aggression. We note in the report of the Secretary-General that Government forces appear to have recovered their balance and have begun to push back UNITA forces. Combined with the sanctions, this may soon lead to a quick reversal of UNITA policies and a renewed call for peace talks. If so, at a minimum, they would have to be on the basis of the Acordos de Paz, the Abidjan agreements and the elections.

Until that time, we can expect a worsening humanitarian situation. We therefore urge the Secretary-General and the courageous United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) personnel to continue to do everything possible to bring relief and assistance to the civilian population. Clearly, UNAVEM II's mandate should be extended for three months as requested and the level of international civilian staff restored.

The work of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Beye, has been commendable, and my delegation appreciates the efforts of the Organization for African Unity, the observer States of Portugal, Russia and the United States and the leaders of neighbouring countries to assist in bringing this matter back to the peace table. However, if all these good offices do not resolve the matter, we must then be prepared to implement and enforce these sanctions; assist the Government; continue and expand humanitarian assistance; and, as quickly as possible, end UNITA's aggression, until finally, they have no alternative but to agree to what they have already agreed to.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Djibouti for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/26445.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 864 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): The hour is late, and I shall try to be brief, but I should just like to say that I think we can all take satisfaction from the fact that under your presidency, Sir, we have reached unanimous agreement on a detailed and indeed far-reaching resolution, the more so since we considered it in a relatively short space of time. The unity the Council has demonstrated is important in itself, and I hope that it will also send an unequivocal message to Mr. Savimbi.

The resolution we have just adopted reflects the Council's continuing determination to support the democratic process in Angola. That is an objective which my Government fully shares. We are sending a clear signal to UNITA that we will not allow it to set aside the freely expressed democratic decision of the Angolan people. The international community has to act to curtail UNITA's ability to pursue this appalling conflict any longer.

The political priorities are, I think, very clear. We strongly support all the intensive efforts of the Secretary-General and of his new Special Representative to restart the peace talks under United Nations auspices and on the basis of the Bicesse Peace Accords and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

In the same spirit, we welcome the continuing efforts of the three observer nations, and we likewise welcome the continuing willingness of the Government of Angola to reach a peaceful settlement of the current tragic conflict.

But the humanitarian priorities are equally clear. The Secretary-General's report of 13 September was terrifying, and what it said was amply reinforced by the statement of the Foreign Minister of Angola, whom we are very glad to see here today. My Government has already pledged £2 million for emergency humanitarian relief, and we shall continue to do all we can to help to alleviate the terrible human suffering in Angola. But we have to face the fact that the surest means of achieving our humanitarian objectives would be a cease-fire and in the longer term a settlement.

Whether or not the measures set out in the resolution we have just adopted come into force in 10 days' time depends entirely upon UNITA. These measures are not intended to punish the movement but to persuade it to negotiate

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

seriously on the basis of the agreements into which it freely entered. No one hopes more sincerely than we do that the measures will not prove necessary and that UNITA will promptly agree to a cease-fire and take all related action.

But if even the measures in this resolution do not achieve the ends which we have set ourselves, we for our part will not shrink from the adoption of other, stronger steps to achieve our goals. We would have been ready at this stage to agree upon measures to restrict travel outside Angola by senior members of UNITA, and if the situation does not develop favourably by 1 November - it will, of course, be for the Secretary-General to make that assessment to us - we hope that the Council will consider the measures I have just mentioned and further restrictions on the supply of goods and services to UNITA.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. GREY (United States of America): My delegation warmly welcomes your accession to the presidency, Sir. We hope that you will have a productive month.

The adoption of today's resolution is a critical step in the international community's continuing efforts to restore peace to the devastated people and country of Angola. We condemn the military actions of UNITA, which have wreaked such havoc on the Angolan people. The leadership of UNITA must understand that the international community holds it responsible and will not tolerate its continued attempts to wage war on its own people in an effort to conquer militarily what it could not win in a democratic election.

The action we took today is a trumpet call for peace to UNITA, the people of Angola and the world. But it is more. It puts UNITA and any who stand in the way of peace on notice that the international community will take strong action to bring about a just and lasting peace.

We are deeply touched by the wretched humanitarian condition this conflict has created in Angola. We will not stand by while innocent people are slaughtered, whether by bullets or slowly by starvation. The efforts of the international community to assist the poor and afflicted is of deep importance to us. The people of Angola should know that the nations of the world stand behind their yearning for peace and will persevere in efforts to obtain it.

(Mr. Grey, United States)

The road to peace in Angola has been a long and tortuous one. This resolution, hopefully, will be the final step in clearing that road. But there must be no mistake. UNITA's leadership must understand that we are ready to impose additional sanctions on UNITA unless it engages fully and without reservation in implementing the Acordos de Paz and the relevant resolutions of this Council. This is our last warning.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. YAMAMOTO (Japan): In spite of the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Heads of African countries to resume negotiations to advance the peace process, no substantive progress has been made towards implementation of the Acordos de Paz in Angola during the past two months. Meanwhile, the already desperate humanitarian situation in Angola continues to worsen, to the point where more than a thousand people die every day.

Responsibility for this tragic situation lies with UNITA, which has failed to halt its military actions and has refused to come to the negotiating table. Under these circumstances, the Security Council had to send a clear message to UNITA by the resolution we have just adopted.

In this connection, my delegation takes note that UNITA has announced that it will undertake a unilateral cease-fire by 20 September and resume negotiations to achieve peace and security in Angola. I hope that this announcement is not another attempt by UNITA to deflect international pressure.

In the meantime, both parties must ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need and take all necessary measures for the safety of personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) as well as those engaged in humanitarian activities.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian delegation welcomes your acceding to the post of President of the Security Council, Sir. We also wish to express our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of the United States, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, for the excellent way in which she guided the Council's work in August.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

The Russian delegation would also like to welcome the presence at this meeting of the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Angola, His Excellency Mr. De Moura. We are certain that his participation in this important Council meeting will help to move the Angolan crisis towards a political settlement.

There is serious concern in Moscow about the situation regarding an Angolan settlement. The new wave of bloodshed and civil war in Angola has brought the country to the very brink of national disaster, and it threatens to undermine completely the process of national reconciliation as well as the peacemaking efforts of the United Nations and its Secretary-General.

The fundamental reason for that situation is the intransigent position of UNITA and of its leader, Mr. Savimbi, who rejected the results of the democratic elections held in the country under United Nations supervision, thus throwing down the gauntlet to the legitimate Government of Angola, which has been recognized by the whole international community. In violation of its obligations under the Bicesse Accords, UNITA has set about seizing power by military might, thus unleashing mass terror in the country.

Particularly alarming is the humanitarian situation, which has deteriorated considerably as a result of increased hostilities for which UNITA is responsible. As indicated in the report of the Secretary-General (S/26434), the humanitarian aspects of the Angolan tragedy have taken on truly catastrophic dimensions. Some 3 million people are suffering from the consequences of the conflict, and tremendous damage has been done to Angola's economy, which has already been bled white by many years of civil war.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

The situation prevailing in the country has posed a threat to personnel of the United Nations and other international organizations who are performing their duties of rendering humanitarian assistance. We believe it is only through coordinated, determined and forceful measures on the part of the international community that we can force UNITA to fulfil its obligations under existing agreements and to embark unreservedly on the process of seeking a peaceful settlement in the country.

The resolution just adopted by the Security Council affords the leadership of UNITA a final opportunity to demonstrate political realism and responsibility and to return to the path of genuine interaction with the Government of Angola in order to ensure a just and complete settlement on the basis of the Bicesse Agreements and relevant resolutions of the Security Council. If the leadership of UNITA tries once again to avoid full compliance with the obligations assumed under the Peace Agreements, the imposition of measures, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, banning the supply of weapons, oil and petroleum products to UNITA, will be automatic. We believe it is essential, if there should be no progress in the peace process, for the Security Council to consider additional steps under the United Nations Charter, including trade measures against UNITA and restrictions on the travel of its representatives and a ban on all air, land and sea deliveries to Angola, with the exception of those previously authorized by the Government of Angola. In the future we should also consider the possibility of freezing the foreign bank accounts of UNITA and its leaders.

The Security Council's adoption of this resolution today is of tremendous political and diplomatic significance in that it demonstrates that the international community believes an end should be put to the continuing bloodshed caused by UNITA and that it is now undertaking practical steps to bring about a peace settlement in Angola.

We believe that the resolution we have adopted will strengthen the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Special Representative to find speedily a way to produce a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

For its part, the Russian Federation is prepared, together with other members of the international community, to give every possible support to these efforts.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): My Government is deeply disturbed by the worsening political and military situation in Angola, the intensification of fighting and the constant obstacles to the distribution of humanitarian aid that make this conflict one of the deadliest on Earth. By all indications, UNITA bears the greatest part of the responsibility for the continuing suffering of the Angolan people. It must be clear that there can be no military solution. France can but appeal once again to the parties to heed the language of reason as expressed by the international community as a whole and to sit down at the negotiating table, as the United Nations and numerous Heads of State of countries of the region have invited them to do.

With regret, but convinced that there was no alternative, my country voted today in favour of a resolution imposing sanctions on one of the parties flouting democratic principles, one that does not honour its commitments and that has led that country and that people, which had freely expressed itself in elections, into a tragic civil war. France hopes this unanimous decision by the Security Council will make UNITA take the measure of its isolation and will encourage it to resume the dialogue and finally agree to implement fully the Peace Agreements.

In agreement with the Secretary-General, the Council has just given Mr. Savimbi a reprieve of 10 days. My delegation hopes he will heed the voice of wisdom. Such a decision on his part would avoid the implementation of the mandatory measures we have just adopted and would at the same time allow the establishment of a massive United Nations peace-keeping operation and, at last, the restoration of peace in Angola, which is the international community's objective.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Hungary lent its full support to the adoption of resolution 864 (1993). We have been following with grave concern the deterioration of the situation in Angola, which has come about in spite of numerous attempts at peace. As indicated in the resolution we have just adopted, it is because of UNITA's military actions that the situation

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

in Angola remains a threat to international peace and security. In the difficult circumstances prevailing as a result of that party's failure to respect the results of the democratic elections held in 1992 and its refusal to implement the provisions of the Peace Agreements, Hungary attaches particular importance to the reaffirmation of the world community's desire to preserve Angola's unity and territorial integrity. The international alarm expressed over this country, over and above its political and military dimensions, is all the more warranted since, according to the report of the Secretary-General, it is estimated that more than 1,000 people are dying every day either directly or indirectly because of the war, making this the deadliest conflict in the world. We deplore the fact that this circumstance has not received the attention or the response it deserves from international public opinion.

It is important to realize that, in the present situation, the Security Council has been able to take a firm and committed stance by naming unflinchingly those responsible for the tragedy now being played out in Angola and by carefully and unambiguously choosing steps that will get the process of a settlement in Angola over an impasse. By extending the mandate of the United Nations Verification Mission in Angola (UNAVEM II) for three months and instituting a regime of sanctions against UNITA, which could be stiffened or relaxed, the Council wished to indicate its desire to promote significant progress in the full implementation of the Peace Agreements.

By taking this decision today, in the presence of His Excellency the Minister for External Relations of Angola, to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II and by introducing the imminent prospect of sanction measures, we trust that the Council has sent the right message to UNITA so that its declarations of willingness to resume peace negotiations and cooperate in the humanitarian arena will no longer remain dead letters.

Finally, let us note that according to the time-table set out in today's resolution, the Council will take up reports of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola twice, during the months of November and December, and that in the interim it will be kept regularly informed of developments in that country. Consequently, the Security Council's attention to Angola will be maintained and ongoing.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): My delegation warmly welcomes the Minister for External Relations of Angola and has listened with close attention to his sobering report. It is with a sense of increasing concern and frustration that we view the continuing tragedy in Angola. Despite the sincere efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative for Angola, the international community, as well as the States neighbouring Angola, to bring the conflict raging in that country to an end, conditions in fact seem to have deteriorated.

The humanitarian situation in Angola, as a result of the conflict in that country, is indeed catastrophic. The daily mortality of almost 1,000 persons because of the direct or indirect effects of the war is both barbaric and intolerable and needs immediate attention.

It is a terrible thought that even as we worked on this important resolution today, 1,000 innocent people died in Angola. We commend the dedication with which the Secretary-General and his Special Representative have continued to pursue the goal of bringing back peace and normalcy to Angola. We are also grateful for the various initiatives coming from the leaders of countries neighbouring Angola, and urge the UNITA leadership to give a positive response to them with a view to ending the tragedy in Angola.

UNAVEM's role in facilitating the peace process in Angola and providing the badly needed humanitarian assistance to the hapless victims of the war in that country is highly praiseworthy. We pay tribute to the UNAVEM personnel who have been performing their crucial and delicate task under very precarious conditions.

UNITA is mainly responsible for the deteriorating situation caused by the failure of its leadership to accept the results of the elections held in Angola last year and its relentless pursuit to gain control of the country through military means.

In view of the unabated pursuit of the military option by the UNITA leadership, the Security Council is left with no alternative but to consider all necessary measures to prevent the supply of armaments and related materials to UNITA. We hope that this will have the desired effect of persuading Mr. Savimbi to come to the negotiating table.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

My delegation supported resolution 864 (1993) because, in our view, it enables the Security Council to take the necessary firm action whilst also maintaining the requisite flexibility in terms of the response from UNITA.

Mr. KEATING (New Zealand): I, too, would like to welcome the presence with us this evening of the Minister for External Relations of the Republic of Angola.

Two months ago the Council sent a clear signal to UNITA. We said that unless UNITA stops the fighting the Council will take action under Chapter VII of the Charter and impose mandatory sanctions. But despite this action the fighting continues.

New Zealand is not persuaded that meaningful steps have yet been taken by UNITA to comply with resolution 851 (1993). The Council must therefore honour the commitment which it made in July. The resolution we have adopted leaves UNITA in no doubt about the Council's determination. It shows that the Council will not be diverted by ruses, but it also shows that the Council is supportive of any serious moves which will result in a cease-fire and full implementation of the peace accords.

New Zealand calls on UNITA to respond immediately and to stop the fighting. The door is open. All they need to do is walk through it. But if they do not, the sanctions we have approved will become effective and UNITA should be under no illusions that if they scorn the Council yet again it is inevitable that we will have to look at even stronger measures.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 9.15 p.m.

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17 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 17 September 1993, at 12.50 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. BOHEMEN
	Pakistan	Mr. NIAZ
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

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93-86551 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION CONCERNING HAITI

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council deplores the recent upsurge in violence in Haiti, particularly the events of 11 and 12 September, when at least a dozen people were assassinated, including a prominent supporter of President Aristide during a church service.

"The Council is deeply concerned at these developments as well as at the existence of organized armed civilian groups in the capital which are attempting to interfere with the new Constitutional Government's proper assumption of its functions.

"The Security Council considers it imperative that the Constitutional Government of Haiti assume control over the security forces of the country, and that those responsible for the activities of the organized armed civilian groups throughout the country, and particularly in Port-au-Prince, be held personally accountable for their actions and removed from their functions. The Council also urges the Haitian authorities to take immediate measures with a view to disarming these groups.

"The Council strongly calls on the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, also in his capacity as signatory to the Governors Island Agreement, to carry out his responsibilities to the fullest by ensuring immediate compliance with the letter and the spirit of the Governors Island Agreement.

"The Council will hold the Haitian military and security authorities personally responsible for the safety of all United Nations personnel in Haiti.

(The President)

"Unless there is a clear and immediate effort by the security forces to put an end to the present levels of violence and intimidation and unless the above requirements are met, the Security Council will have no alternative but to consider that the authorities responsible for public order in Haiti are not complying in good faith with the Governors Island Agreement.

"Therefore, should the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council resolution 861 (1993) and having received the views of the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States (OAS), inform the Security Council that, in his opinion, there is a serious and consistent non-compliance with the Governors Island Agreement, the Council will immediately reinstate those measures provided for in its resolution 841 (1993) appropriate to the situation, with particular emphasis on those measures aimed at those deemed responsible for the non-compliance with the Agreement.

"The Council reaffirms that all the parties in Haiti are bound to comply with their obligations under the Governors Island Agreement, as well as with those embodied in the relevant international treaties to which Haiti is party and in all relevant Security Council resolutions.

"The Council will closely monitor the situation in Haiti in the coming days."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/26460.

The Security Council has concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS **S**

Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3279
17 September 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 17 September 1993, at 6.50 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. CHIREH
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BELLOUKI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
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93-86557 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN GEORGIA

LETTER DATED 17 SEPTEMBER 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GEORGIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/26462)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Georgia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chkheidze (Georgia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 17 September 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Georgia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/26462.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its extreme concern at the outbreak of fighting in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, arising from the attacks by the Abkhaz forces on the towns of Sukhumi and Ochamchira.

"The Council strongly condemns this grave violation by the Abkhaz side of the Sochi cease-fire agreement of 27 July 1993, which was mediated by the Russian Federation and welcomed by the Security Council in resolutions 854 (1993) of 6 August 1993 and 858 (1993) of 24 August 1993.

"The Council demands that the Abkhaz leadership end immediately the hostilities and promptly withdraw all its forces to the cease-fire lines agreed upon in Sochi on 27 July 1993. Failure to take such action can entail the risk of serious consequences.

"The Council urges all countries to encourage the re-establishment of the cease-fire and the resumption of the peace process.

"The Council expresses its strong desire to see the Abkhaz side enter fully into the peace process without further delay.

"The Council notes the oral report of the Secretary-General on 17 September 1993 regarding the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, and welcomes his intention to send his Special Envoy for Georgia to Moscow and to the area to assess the situation and to establish a way forward to a peaceful settlement to the dispute.

"The Council looks forward to receiving the Secretary-General's report at an early date."

(The President)

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/26463.

The Security Council has concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.